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ABSTRACT

This paper reviews research about how reading affects behavior. Chapter one gives a general introduction to reading effects and their implications for librarians, educators, and other professionals. The second chapter deals specifically with the 66 studies that have examined reading's influence on attitudes and emotions, analyzing these studies for the similarities and differences in their findings. Chapter three provides annotations of the studies, indicating their methodologies and results. Two tables chart research findings. Appendixes list more than 200 sources categorized by general effects, behavior and conduct of life, reading content/context, and selected monographs on reading effects. (Author/RL)

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YOU ARE WHAT YOU READ

Motivational Effects of Reading

by Luren Dickinson

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TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS AND DEDICATION

I would like to extend my thanks to my advisor, Dr. G. Edward Evans, for the assistance he has given me in formulating and completing this project. I would also compliment the staffs of UCLA's University Research Library, the Education/Psychology Library, and the Bio-Med Library whose fine resources allowed the completion of this paper with the minimum of effort. Special thanks to the John F. Kennedy Memorial Library at Cal State Los Angeles for the use of their facilities and for supplying the few sources not available at the University of California, Los Angeles.

This paper was inspired in part by a statement of Oscar Wilde in his preface to THE PICTURE OF DORIAN GRAY. The truth, as he saw it, was that "There is no such thing as a moral or an immoral book. Books are well written, or badly written. That is all." Many would disagree with Wilde, and some have said that of most of the "well written" books today it is a shame that the majority are "immoral". Time will decide which viewpoint is the most valid.

According to an article in the August 1977 issue of MONEY magazine (p. 5), there was a brave soul in Iowa who sold his porno shop to sell religious books. His business promptly folded. The following pages are dedicated to him.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE iv

Chapter

I. INTRODUCTION. 1

II. ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH. 8

III. ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY. Effects of Reading on Attitudes and Emotions. . . . 13

TABLE 1. Results of Studies Broken Down by Decade 27

TABLE 2. Results of Individual Studies 28

REFERENCES. 29

APPENDIX. Bibliography of Reading Effects.

A. General Effects 30

B. Behavior and Conduct of Life. 34

C. Content and Context of Reading. 37

D. Selected Monographs on Reading Effects. . 42

PREFACE

This is a literature review of research into the effects of reading upon behavior--an overview of studies, in journals and periodicals, which test the hypothesis "reading can influence behavior". Included is research which attempts to measure that influence or explore the question of whether a person's actions can be changed by what he reads. Or, quite apart from any physical manifestations, research which considers the impact reading makes inwardly upon personality and character, ideals and beliefs, attitudes and emotions.

Hundreds of studies have been produced which, in one way or another, touch upon the effects of reading. The articles in this review have been chosen because they specifically study reading effects, not other forces or functions related to the effects. A central feature of each is the question "does reading affect people" or "how does reading affect people", rather than questions about the source, presentation, or foreknowledge of the reading material itself.

In no way are reading achievement, reading ability, or reading proficiency, as related to behavior and personality, within the scope of this study. The only concern is the extent to which a person is affected by what he reads. The question is can reading create, shape, and change attitudes,

rather than how the actual process of attitude formation takes place. Thus, are ideals and values instilled through reading? Is behavior, either good or bad, ever influenced or even caused by reading?

Little emphasis is placed upon the therapeutic uses of reading for behavior modification or remediation. Studies of bibliotherapy, as it has been traditionally interpreted, in the fields of medicine and psychiatry, will be excluded. These studies are covered in various bibliographies (see Eleanor Brown's Bibliotherapy and It's Widening Applications). Articles which use the term bibliotherapy in the broadest sense, and are applicable, have been included.

A thorough analysis of literature related to the subject has been made. This selective bibliography is limited to serial works in English up to and including the year 1976. Indexes completely reviewed are: Biological Abstracts, Education Index, Index Medicus, Library and Information Science Abstracts, Library Literature, Psychology Abstracts, Reading Research Quarterly, and Sociology Abstracts.

As Purves and Beach, Russell, Lorang, and other students of reading effects attest (see appendix for various citations), almost no comprehensive research has been done in this field. Empirical data is almost totally lacking. Studies vary in their depth and quality. This literature review pulls together the research that has been done. Each entry has been examined and a complete citation is given along with a short annotation and an indication as to the way

the study was carried out and what were the results. Factors agreed upon are brought together, divergent points of view have been separated, and both are analyzed.

In addition to the studies covered here, which are concerned with the effects of reading on attitudes and emotions, the author is concerned with the effects of reading on behavior, general effects of reading, content analysis, and the bibliography of research into reading effects. The latter areas of interest deserve further analysis which time does not permit here. The citations that have been accumulated are arranged by topic in the appendix.

INTRODUCTION

Many people, from educators to criminologists to journalists, believe that reading has an impact upon the reader. Other respected individuals in various fields, however, have hotly debated the issue. People just cannot seem to agree on the effect of the printed word.

In the meantime, researchers and librarians have retreated from the issue of reading effects because if reading effects are acknowledged many legal questions develop. Lester Asheim, a noted librarian, once observed:

> The librarian is not alone in the strong conviction that reading exerts an influence over the reader, that belief is shared with equal fervor by the librarian's antagonist--the censor. . .And each would justify his stand on the ground that books affect readers. I submit that neither the censor nor the librarian has produced sufficient positive evidence about the actual effects of reading to justify either. . .("The study of reading effects", pp. 17-8).

Written over twenty years ago, his point about the lack of evidence is well taken, even today.

Looking back even further into time, it is obvious that concern over the effects of reading has risen and waned according to the public morality of the times. One respectable librarian of a hundred years ago once said, "Perhaps one might get rest from reading Dickens, but I cannot say what the effect of novels really is, since I have never read one myself" (Carter, Bonk, and Magrill, p. 4). The befuddled

librarian of today, in a similar way, might question the effects of popular television shows upon the masses. And now the once rejected Dickens passes for culture on educational television, his more respected contemporary, Thackeray, being all but forgotten.

Other changes in reading tastes are equally apparent. Comic books and dime novels, once denounced from the pulpit, and condemned by Frederic Wertham's Seduction of the Innocent, are studied these days in the universities. Librarians, in times gone by, censored materials for fear of creating societal problems. But, as early as 1967, the American Library Association Intellectual Freedom Committee was told, "Books do not create social ills" (Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom, v. 16, p. 54). At the same time, against the backdrop of a congressional investigation of obscenity and pornography, the Committee's head, Ervin Gaines, even went so far as to suggest that some libraries should begin collecting pornography for research purposes.

Gaines need not have taken such an outrageous stand--he could have waited for the release of the Report of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography in 1970. The report tosses lightly aside the idea that pornographic or obscene material is harmful, despite the bulk of its own evidence. As the minority report states, and careful reading bears out, "the scanty and manipulated evidence contained within this report is wholly inadequate to support the conclusions and sustain the recommendations" (p. 456). It accuses the

majority report of using extremist cliches such as "it is unwise for government to attempt to legislate morality" or that in order for material to be harmful it must be "utterly without redeeming social value" (p. 457). Although the majority report admits that more studies need to be made and that 50% of Americans believe obscene materials lead to moral breakdown, sex crimes, sexual apathy, and denigration of women, these feelings were overlooked in the final analysis.

Today the pendulum seems to be swinging back. There is more concern about the effects that books can have. Increasingly, various types of materials have been looked at as harmful. Some school textbooks, especially, have been the targets of protests. Many studies, as well, have questioned the power of the press. Content analysis, to judge the prejudicial nature of books, has also become popular. A recent study at Harvard revealed that "black characters appear in 14.4% of all children's books published in the United States in 1973-5" (American Libraries, v. 9, p. 68). This was more than double the number of the decade previous but still left most children's books in an "all-white world", according to the researchers.

Notwithstanding the feelings of many, in the courts there has been more and more confusion as to what, if anything, is harmful about any reading material. It has come to the point where Jack Anderson, the popular columnist, has bluntly stated:

> Pornography and its close companions--the contemporary novels and see-it-all movies--illustrate how corruption that once crept up from below now descends from above and how responsible society has rendered itself impotent to stop it.
>
> Pornography used to mean cheap postcards peddled in back alleys and pulp magazines hidden in corncribs. But now the running sore that pours through mass entertainment in America is the work of large corporations, prestigious publications, network executives, boards of directors and leaders of the intellectual community.
>
> It comes to us not in the back alley but in our theaters, bookstores and neighborhood drugstores.
>
> Authority today is so demoralized that it cannot draw a distinction between magazines consisting mostly of enlarged photographs of male and female genitals and the expressions of thought and opinion the Founding Fathers thought they were protecting (Parade, March 19, 1978, p. 6).

As some of the leaders of the "intellectual community", librarians owe it to themselves to reexamine their approach to the social effects of reading, especially in the light of current trends.

For over sixty years leading librarians have taken the stand that there need be no restrictions on the selection of reading materials. These beliefs were finally put into words in the form of the Library Bill of Rights which was adopted in 1948. As in the case of the original Bill of Rights, it deals with protecting the public's right to information and enlightenment, the free flow of ideas, and the proscription of partisan or doctrinal censorship. The Freedom to Read statement, endorsed in 1953 and a reaction against McCarthyism, is also a highly principled document, perhaps with a more practical flavor. It urges librarians

to judge books as books, make available a wide variety of views, and impose censorship only on the basis of law. Say the authors,

> We do not state these propositions in the comfortable belief that what people read is unimportant. We believe rather that what people read is deeply important; that ideas can be dangerous; but that the suppression of ideas is fatal to a democratic society. Freedom itself is a dangerous way of life, but it is ours" (ALA Bulletin, v. 47, p. 483).

Both the Library Bill of Rights and The Freedom to Read are honorable statements and as such librarians can be justifiably proud of them. As long as they are not used by librarians to promulgate their own attitudes, in violation of community standards (see letter in American Libraries, v. 9, p. 196), or to sidestep the responsiblity of selection, then there is no problem. Many librarians have trouble in this regard, when selecting library materials, but have difficulty explaining their thoughts publicly. Thus, although many librarians instinctively feel that reading can have effects, good and bad, it is not really something they can back up with facts and figures. At one meeting of the Intellectual Freedom Committee, for example,

> Conference speakers and panelists unanimously agreed that "anti-social conduct is in no way related to reading". In their discussion groups, however, the librarians attending the meetings did not entirely agree. Many believed that more research is necessary to determine the relationship of reading and behavior (Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom, v. 16, p. 56).

In this case, an ALA study was suggested, but it has never come to fruition.

Lester Asheim has written, regarding the library selection process, that "the librarian would open his library to all points of view; the censor would eliminate all but the approved viewpoints" ("The study of reading effects", p. 17). He goes on to say, in his article "Not Censorship, But Selection", that selection "begins with a presumption in favor of liberty of thought; censorship with a presumption in favor of thought control. . .In other words, selection is democratic while censorship is authoritarian. . ." (p. 369). In a way what he says is true, but, when he suggests opening a library to <u>all</u> points of view, what he is really talking about is a licentious rather than a libertarian approach. That is something quite apart from selection. He neglects the fact that a democracy rules by majority whereas licentiousness is patently nihilistic in approach. The whole idea of law in a democratic system is that certain types of practices considered harmful to the majority (murder, theft, prejudice) are restricted. In the matter of books and reading, then, in our society today it is simply a matter of public taste. Librarians should, therefore, not make it a practice to force their principles upon an undesiring public.

Donald Soper, a British theologian, pinpoints the problem with these comments from <u>Does Pornography Matter?</u>, a forum on pornography:

> The main element in our modern life which is heartily to be condemned is the atomistic and individualistic emphasis on personal liberty and the lack of any sense of belonging to a community. Morality is always encouraged within the framework

> of a close-knit community, like the family. It is always discouraged in a climate of self-interest (p. 49).

If selection is the answer, and I believe it is, then it must be a balance between the censorious and the licentious. The rights of the majority must be protected without infringing unduly on the rights of the individual.

The study of reading effects is a serious question with no easy answers. It is easy to take extremes, but the answers seem to be in moderation. Of course, there is a need for intellectual freedom, but this freedom should be based on the well-being of the people. In 1916 Mary W. Plummer, President of the ALA, said that "A book cannot really and permanently damage truth" (Sayers, p. 155). This may be true, but as Pilate once sneered, "What is the truth?" At any rate, do we, as librarians, forget the power of written words? What about the many books that have changed the course of history (as in Robert Downs' work) or made an impact on people's lives, for the good and for the bad?

Eleanor Brown, an advocate of bibliotherapy, states, "It has been proved that the right book to the right person at the right time is of inestimable value in helping to solve personal problems" (p. 11). Has this actually been proven? And what about the reverse--the wrong book, wrong person, wrong time--can it have an equally volatile effect? Here is a survey of the available research on the subject.

ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH

The articles annotated here have dealt with the question: Does reading have an effect on attitudes and emotions on either an individual or a mass basis? The overwhelmingly obvious answer is yes, it does. Over 95% of the studies showed that reading can produce measurable change in people's attitudes and emotions. Almost one study in four reported that the effects could be long lasting, as well.

Reading is shown in various ways and to certain degrees to influence people's voting habits, change their racial prejudices, help in self-identification and growth, stimulate ideas, combat emotional problems, shape public opinion, and, in some cases, establish a basis for behavioral change. Reading was found capable of either reinforcing old attitudes, altering those attitudes, or creating new ones.

One common factor in many of the experimental studies was the use of discussion groups, in addition to reading, in a classroom setting. Discussion furthered the impact produced by reading. In almost every case, with or without discussion, changed attitudes tended to retreat to what they had been originally. This tendency suggests that outside factors will tend to predominate. The process of reversion sometimes occurred rapidly but seemed to be forestalled or slowed by the discussion method. Permanent change would

normally happen only within the confines of a group or community setting.

The studies covered ranged from 1926 to 1974, but nearly 6[illegible]% were from the period 1960 to 1974. The dissenting viewpoints came in an unobjective 1926 study, research done in 1961 which resulted in an effect not expected, and a poorly designed study of 1973. Even in these cases effects were noted although the overall results were basically inconclusive. (For a breakdown of the studies by decade, see Table 1.)

As Dr. Patricia Cianciolo, an associate professor of education at Michigan State, in a study not annotated here says, "One should be careful not to oversimplify the process by which the reading of a book affects a child. The human being--adult or child--is not a plastic creature easily manipulated and changed by what he reads" ("Interaction between the personality of the reader and literature", p. 14). She states further that "although the effect of a book on the mind and emotions of a child is not measurable, there is some evidence that the right book for the right child, combined with correct guidance techniques, has resulted in changed behavior" (p. 15). Her opinions concur with findings covered here, though she may not have been aware of some of the sophisticated attitude measuring methods that are available.

Nila Smith, an educator and an authority on reading, emphasizes that the impact of reading varies from individual

to individual. Reading, she says,

> is just a colorless intellectual and physical process. The factor which most largely puts not only color but depth and perception into content to which the reading process is applied is predispositions: slants and attitudes of the writer; and even more pronounced in effect, slants, attitudes, biases, and prejudices of the reader ("The personal and social values of reading", p. 498).

Bernard Berelson, a librarian, underplays the importance of the study of reading effects by stating that "what reading does to people is not nearly so important as what people do to reading" ("The public library, book reading, and political behavior", p. 299). This may be valid, but both areas deserve further study.

As a result of her doctoral studies in education at Arizona, Fehl Shirley sees importance in the fact that reading does have an impact. It is her assessment that since "reading can contribute to ideals and a philosophy of life, teachers might put more emphasis on the development of character and values through the reading program" ("The influence of reading on concepts, attitudes, and behavior", p. 413).

With much attention being paid today to television and other audiovisual gadgetry, and their possible effects on the masses, perhaps more attention ought to be given to reading material. As Robert Prisuta, a communications professor at Indiana State, found in his study of campaigning methods, "the print media, especially newspapers, display consistently stronger relationships than broadcast media,

which is surprising in the light of the concern over political broadcasting in recent years, coupled with relatively little discussion of the political effects of print" ("Mass media exposure and political behavior", p. 172).

The almost universal opinion in the studies examined is that more work needs to be done in the area of the power of print. Without further investigation, proper judgments cannot be made. Dr. Waltraut Hartmann of Germany, an expert on children's literature, puts it this way in a discussion of how reading affects children:

> Literary critics and pedagogues tend to reproach psychology for having failed to contribute sufficiently to research into the effects of reading on children and adolescents. This reproach is fully justified. . .Children's literature has great tasks to fulfill in the lives of today's young people. Our industrialized and mechanized world has deprived the child of many opportunities to prepare for the adult world through observation and active participation. . .Literature can step into the breach here. . .Where concrete examples are missing, literary models can frequently supply the desired models of behavior. While it has been proved that very young children will most assuredly take over values and standards from a concrete model in their immediate environment, as they grow older they can also accept an abstract model from literature ("Identification and projection in folk fairy tales and in fantastic stories for children", p. 8).

From the articles analyzed here, it is clear that future studies will continue to corroborate that people do respond attitudinally and emotionally to what they read. The evidence is abundant. Reading does have effects--good and bad. And recognition of this fact could have far reaching and profound effects on the fields of education, librarianship, publishing, journalism, psychology, and law.

Librarians and educators could work together to bring about many of the changes that are necessary in our society today. It is apparent that techniques used in the experiments annotated here could be implemented to enhance the power of reading. The use of discussion after reading is a case in point. The American Library Association is already using such methods in workshops to help raise sexism and racism awareness. With our country and our schools in a moral crisis, the use of reading programs in schools to instill other similar values would seem almost fundamental. In order for changes to be permanent, however, they would have to be carried out on a community-wide basis.

Recognition of reading's impact underscores the importance of the librarian's role in the selection and dissemination of information. While librarians are neither the guardians or arbitrators of the public mores, they could select what is best for the majority without either prescribing or proscribing particular viewpoints. A proposal was once made by the Intellectual Freedom Committee to do further research into reading effects. Over a decade later, librarians might be in the greatest position of any profession to deal meaningfully with the many questions involved. Now would be a good time to start.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Effects of Reading on Attitudes and Emotions

For a statistical breakdown of the following articles, see Table 2. The citations below are arranged by author in alphabetical order. If the article contains a bibliography or footnotes an indication of such is made. The means by which writers came up with their information is also listed. At the end of each citation the result of the study is given and a note as to whether effects were lasting or not. For citations in the area of reading effects upon behavior, or the area of content analysis, or general effects of reading, see the appendix.

Allport, Floyd H. and Lepkin, Milton. "Building war morale with news headlines." PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY 7(1943): 211-21. Experiment. Effect.

1) Subjects were presented with a series of headlines from newspapers and were asked to give their impressions. Some of the findings indicated that "headlines which stress how well we are doing or how badly off the enemy is bring out significantly weaker reactions, less desire to participate in the war effort" (p. 215).

Altschull, J. Herbert. "The journalist and instant history: an example of the jackal syndrome." JOURNALISM QUARTERLY 50(1973): 489-96. Notes. Case Study. Effect(lasting).

2) Altschull defines the jackal syndrome as the tendency of the mass media to jump at certain "facts" and broadcast them without necessarily establishing their validity. He uses the Nixon-Kennedy TV debates of 1960 as a case study. Although the debates were considered draws by most observers at the time, certain influential journalists such as Theodore H. White changed that impression. Now it is an almost "universal truth" that the debates were the decisive factor in electing Kennedy.

Asheim, Lester. "The study of reading effects." LIBRARY LECTURE(University of Tennessee, Knoxville) 5(1953). Notes. Survey/Opinion. Effect.

3) Asheim says that of students surveyed, only 3% reported no book had ever influenced them. Most often students reported increased understanding, change of attitude, reinforcement of opinion, and stimulation of interest or a shaping influence. He concludes that ideas do come from books and reading.

Banning, Evelyn I. "Social influences on children and youth." REVIEW OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH 25(1955): 36-47. Bibliography. Analysis. Effect.

4) This study examines other studies on the impact of various mass media, such as TV, radio, and newspapers, upon young people. The author feels that family and other people have more influence on attitudes than "passive agencies of social interaction" which make up mass media (p. 44).

Bateman, Richard M. and Remmers, H. H. "The relationship of pupil attitudes toward social topics before and after studying the subjects." BULLETIN OF PURDUE UNIVERSITY STUDIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION 31(1936): 27-42. Bibliography. Experiment. Effect.

5) The authors attempted to see if student attitudes could be shifted. Significant change in attitude was produced in all topics except one (divorce).

Berelson, Bernard. "The public library, book reading, and political behavior." LIBRARY QUARTERLY 15(1945): 281-99. Notes. Survey/Opinion. Effect.

6) This is an examination of the difference between library users and non-users. Slight differences were found in areas of political interest and activity but not in political opinion. Berelson feels that a cause and effect relationship cannot be tied to book reading in general. For him, book reading is just one manifestation of the culturally involved person. He says reading changes opinions only to the extent that it overcomes the influence of predispositions.

Berg, Marlowe J. and Wolleat, Patricia L. "Comparison of the effects of information and the effects of contact on children's attitudes toward other national groups." CALIFORNIA JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH 24(1974): 200-8. Bibliography. Experiment. Effect.

7) One group had experienced many nationalities, an information group was "exposed to instructional materials designed to promote positive attitudes toward other groups" (p. 200), and a third had neitner exposure. Children from each were asked to respond to pictures representing different national groups. Results showed that the information group responded significantly more

positively than did the other groups. The control group also scored more positively than the contact group.

Bostian, Lloyd R. and Ross, John E. "Functions and meanings of mass media for Wisconsin farm women." JOURNALISM QUARTERLY 42(1965): 69-76. Notes. Survey. Effect.

8) These researchers state that mass media obviously perform basic functions for people or people would not spend so much time with the media. Newspapers were found to be used for information and to extend social contact. Farm magazines were mostly information sources.

Brinkman, Del. "Do editorial cartoons and editorials change opinions?" JOURNALISM QUARTERLY 45(1968): 724-6. Experiment. Effect.

9) This short article theorizes that a cartoon and editorial together produce greater opinion change than the use of the two separately. Editorials and cartoons together using the same argument were shown to be most effective.

Carter, Richard F. and Greenberg, Bradley S. "Newspapers and television: which do you believe?" JOURNALISM QUARTERLY 42(1965): 29-34. Notes. Survey. Effect.

10) As far as use of media for news, 44% of the respondents chose newspapers and 32% chose TV. Television was perceived as more believable than newspapers. There was a strong relationship noted between the greater use of a medium and its greater credibility.

Cherrington, B. M. and Miller, L. W. "Changes in attitude as the result of a lecture and of reading similar material." JOURNAL OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY 4(1933): 479-84. Bibliography. Experiment. Effect(lasting).

11) Some subjects heard a lecture on pacifism and some read a pamphlet on the subject while others acted as controls. Students were tested for attitude before, after, and six months later. Both methods produced a significantly measurable difference in attitude (slightly larger for reading). Even after six months the differences remained significant. No significant difference in response, male or female, was noted.

Cook, Raymond, et al. "Developmental values through library books." CHICAGO SCHOOLS JOURNAL 31(1950): 1-21. Notes. Analysis/Opinion. Effect.

12) The authors of this article, based on their studies and experience, that attitudes can be shaped and values properly developed through the use of written materials in school libraries. Examples are given as to how this process can be accomplished and the means used shown.

Cooke, Gwendolyn. "Reading literary works by black and white writers--effect on students' attitudes." JOURNAL OF BLACK STUDIES 5(1974): 123-33. Bibliography. Experiment. Effect.

13) An experimental group of high school students read works by black and white writers. Results showed that the experimental group had a greater attitudinal change toward blacks than the controls. The class with a black teacher changed most. Sex made little difference in attitude change.

De Boer, John. "Literature and human behavior." ENGLISH JOURNAL 39(1951): 76-82. Notes. Opinion. Effect.

14) De Boer said that we must assume that good books will influence thought, attitudes, and behavior. He feels that the vicarious effects of reading are similar, though to a lesser extent, to the effects of a real life experience. He feels that attitude change, in order to be effective, must take place on a community scale.

Engel, Gerald, et al. "'Projective' responses to a news article: a study in aspects of bias." JOURNAL OF PSYCHOLOGY 46(1958): 309-17. Notes. Experiment. Effect.

15) Engel tests two hypotheses: 1) that people read and interpret statements dissimilarly, and 2) that the direction of interpretation of ambiguous reading material is determined by the existing bias of the individual. Each group studied was asked to answer questions about the material they had read. Both hypotheses were confirmed.

Ewing, Thomas N. "A study of certain factors involved in change of opinion." JOURNAL OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY 16 (1942): 63-80. Bibliography. Experiment. Effect.

16) When college students read propaganda materials and gave their impressions, results indicated that the greater the difference between the subject's opinion and the propagandist's the greater the change in the subject's attitude. Where there was a small difference the subject's response was usually negative.

Fischer, E. H., et al. "Some effects of relevant stories portraying danger on retention of information associated with the stories." JOURNAL OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY 73 (1967): 75-87. Bibliography. Experiment. Effect(lasting).

17) This study examines the proposition that people remember information more when it is associated with danger. Each subject read stories in three levels of threatening. Females showed a significantly greater retention of content associated with mild as opposed to strong threat. Mild threat was found to be more effective than nonthreat in females. In males the instruction

(in this case driver education) followed by a threatening story was most effective. Results were more pronounced in all cases after one month.

Fisher, F. L. "Influences of reading and discussion on the attitudes of fifth graders toward American Indians." JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH 62(1968): 130-4. Bibliography. Experiment. Effect.

18) Children were separated into control, reading, and reading plus discussion groups. After a three week reading program, attitude changes were significantly greater in the reading than in the control group. Most change occurred in the reading plus discussion group.

Frank, Josette. "Books and children's emotions." CHILD STUDY 26(1948-9): 5-6, 24-6. Opinion. Effect(lasting).

19) The author suggests that several types of books might fill emotional needs--security, reassurance, companionship, adjustment, personal development, etc. She concludes that "books cannot substitute for experiences, though they may in certain ways and to some extent compensate for the absence thereof. Neither can reading motivate emotions, overcome defects or revise personality patterns" (p. 26).

Gregg, James E. "Newspaper editorial endorsements and California elections, 1948-62." JOURNALISM QUARTERLY 42 (1965): 532-8. Notes. Analysis. Effect.

20) Eleven newspapers accounting for 40% of the daily state circulation were analyzed to determine whether political endorsees were elected. Despite claims to the contrary, endorsements were found to be on a partisan basis. They were effective especially in the case of local elections and propositions.

Gruner, Charles R. "Ad hominem satire as a persuader." JOURNALISM QUARTERLY 48(1971): 128-31. Notes. Experiment. Effect.

21) After examining college student responses to reading Art Buchwald satires, it was found that satire is often not understood or misunderstood. Although there was some indication that a person's reputation might be damaged by satire (as in the case of Richard Nixon) the overall results were inconclusive.

Hall, Wilbur. "The effect of defined social stimulus material upon the stability of attitudes toward labor unions, capital punishment, social insurance, and Negroes." BULLETIN OF PURDUE UNIVERSITY STUDIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION 34(1938): 7-19. Bibliography. Experiment. Effect (lasting).

22) Changes in attitude toward different subjects were measured and then the effects of reading material were

determined. The researcher found that changes in attitude can be produced and that there is a considerable lasting effect to this change, even after six months.

Hartmann, Waltraut. "Identification and projection in folk fairy tales and in fantastic stories for children." BOOKBIRD 2(1969): 8-17. Notes. Opinion. Effect(lasting).

23) The author asks what characteristics literature must have for children to identify with it. His research leads him to believe that heroes must be larger than life, stereotyped, fulfilling a special destiny, and not tied to any time or locality. He believes that reading can result in mental imitation, attitude formation, and readiness to act. He feels extremes in behavior by characters either cause the reader to dissociate himself or identify with the behavior. He says that through proper reading material socially acceptable behavior can be learned.

Haugh, Oscar M. "The relative effectiveness of reading and listening to radio drama as ways of imparting information and shifting attitudes." JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH 45(1952): 489-98. Notes. Experiment. Effect (lasting).

24) This study contrasts listening versus reading, the extent to which each imparts information and changes attitudes. Subjects read radio scripts, listened to them, and read extra material. For all three attitudes shifted slightly to a more favorable view of the nationality group being considered. Reading plus discussion caused the greatest change, and after seven weeks it was still significantly better than the other methods.

Holdsworth, Janet N. "Vicarious experience of reading a book in changing nursing students' attitudes." NURSING RESEARCH 17(1968): 135-9. Bibliography. Experiment. Effect.

25) The author tested the attitudes of nursing students toward comatose patients before and after reading a piece of literature on the subject. An increase in concern was noted but it was not significant.

Hooper, Michael. "Party and newspaper endorsements as predictors of voter choice." JOURNALISM QUARTERLY 46(1969): 302-5. Notes. Analysis. Effect.

26) It was found that there was almost a 100% correlation between the political party of the candidates and the number of votes received. Of the small amount of within party variance, most was explained by newspaper endorsements.

Jackson, Evalene P. "Effects of reading upon attitudes toward the Negro race." LIBRARY QUARTERLY 14(1944): 47-54. Notes. Experiment. Effect(not lasting).

27) Half of the subjects read a story sympathetic to Negroes, half did not. A small but significant change in attitudes was noted but after two weeks it was not lasting. The investigator pointed out that since the time involved was brief perhaps no lasting effect could be expected.

Katz, Elihu and Foulker, David. "On the use of mass media as escape: clarification of a concept." PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY 26(1962): 377-88. Notes. Analysis. Effect.

28) Reflecting on past studies, these researchers feel "it is all too clear that mass media 'campaigns' do not have the power to brainwash or to induce radical changes" (p. 377). They feel that alienation or deprivation may be the cause of people trying to escape by means of mass media. Although the "narcotizing" effect of such exposure is brought up, the authors question whether this is detrimental to the individual.

Katz, Elihu, et al. "On the use of mass media for important things." AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW 38(1973): 164-81. Bibliography. Survey. Effect.

29) This study ranks different types of media in accordance with the needs they best satisfy. Data was drawn from a national survey of leisure time spent by 1500 people in the nation of Israel. Reading materials were shown to serve many useful functions, more so than the other mass media.

Kimball, Penn. "People without papers." PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY 23(1959): 389-98. Notes. Survey. Effect.

30) Kimball tried to determine what happens when people have no newspaper to read. 90% said they missed the paper. Most felt out of touch with what was going on. Non-rational gratification played an important part in many readers' lives. Men generally were more concerned about papers than women. Many people preferred the news in a paper format to television or radio.

Klapper, Joseph T. "What do we know about the effects of mass communication: the brink of hope." PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY 21(1957): 453-74. Bibliography. Analysis. Effect.

31) A review of literature in the mass media field. Klapper says that research shows media is more likely to reinforce than to cause change. In some cases, however, there are direct changes caused by mass communications.

Knower, Franklin H. "Experimental studies of changes in attitudes, part II: a study of the effect of printed argument on changes in attitude." Notes. Experiment. Effect.

32) A greater number of people changed attitudes as a result of reading than did those in control groups. Those who read alone were more effected than those in groups. Women changed attitudes more than men. The change of attitude, however, was only about 80% as great as in groups given the arguments orally.

Knower, Franklin H. "Some incidence of attitude change." JOURNAL OF APPLIED PSYCHOLOGY 20(1936): 114-27. Bibliography. Experiment. Effect.

33) Knower attempts to analyze changes in attitude in persons toward prohibition after they read speeches pro and con or hear them. "Subjects were able to judge the relative effectiveness of the speeches when heard more accurately than when read. When more than one speech was read, the subjects were inclined to believe the speech read first to be stronger" (p. 127).

Litcher, John H. and Johnson, David W. "Changes in attitudes toward Negroes of white elementary school students after use of multiethnic readers." JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY 60(1969): 148-52. Bibliography. Experiment. Effect.

34) This study examined white children, half who used textbooks with multiethnic characters for four months and half who used a reader with only white characters. Through the multiethnic reader the children developed markedly more favorable attitudes toward Negroes, although in an almost exclusively white area many probably had no direct or firmly rooted presuppositions about blacks.

Lundberg, George A. "The newspaper and public opinion." SOCIAL FORCES 4(1926): 709-15. Notes. Survey. No Effect.

35) Lundberg criticizes the assumption that newspapers influence public opinion. In interviewing nearly 1,000 people, he found no significant relationship between the attitudes of readers and the attitudes of the newspapers. Most political endorsements, he felt, reflect rather than influence public opinion.

McClenghan, Jack S. "Effects of endorsements in Texas local elections." JOURNALISM QUARTERLY 50(1973): 363-6. Notes. Analysis. Effect.

36) Seven communities and their newspapers were analyzed and it was found that of those candidates which were endorsed by newspapers nearly 90% were elected. The endorsees also received more news, editorial, and advertising space than did their opponents.

McCombs, Maxwell E. and Shaw, Donald L. "The agenda setting function of mass media." PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY 36 (1972): 176-87. Notes. Survey. Effect.

37) McCombs and Shaw hypothesize that "the mass media set the agenda for each political campaign, influencing the salience of attitudes toward the political issues" (p. 177). The investigation showed that "media appear to have exerted a considerable impact on voters' judgments of what they considered the major issues of the campaigns" (p. 180). Voter judgments seemed to reflect a composite of the mass media coverage.

McCombs, Maxwell. "Editorial endorsements: a study of influence." JOURNALISM QUARTERLY 44(1967): 545-8. Notes. Survey. Effect.

38) Voters were interviewed to determine how and why they voted the way they did. It was found that editorial endorsements do have an influence and that it is greatest when there are few other determinants affecting the voter's decision.

McConnell, Robert. "Attitudes toward proposed social actions as affected by defined educational content." BULLETIN OF PURDUE UNIVERSITY STUDIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION 31 (1936): 70-104. Bibliography. Experiment. Effect.

39) Here, the author tried to determine if student attitudes about varied social and conservation issues can be changed. Changes were made and all in the desired direction. The control group was influenced by the others in a discussion group and changed attitudes also. (See followup study by Remmers.)

McDowell, James L. "The role of newspapers in Illinois' at-large election." JOURNALISM QUARTERLY 42(1965): 281-4. Notes. Analysis. Effect.

40) Fifteen metropolitan daily newspapers were examined to judge their influence. In several instances the author gives specific examples of endorsed candidates that were elected. He feels that newspaper endorsements have a significant effect in cross-party voting.

McLeod, Jack M., et al. "Another look at the agenda-setting function of the press." COMMUNICATION RESEARCH 1(1974): 131-66. Bibliography. Survey. Effect.

41) This study asserts that the media have an effect indirectly by choosing certain issues for emphasis, and thus making them more salient. Correlation between perceived salience of those surveyed and newspaper content was significant only among older readers, although the younger adults tended in that direction. The authors suggest a lag time between "the appearance of an issue in the press and its development through interpersonal processes" (p. 160).

Mary Agnes, Sister. "Influence of reading on the racial attitudes of adolescent girls." CATHOLIC EDUCATIONAL REVIEW 45(1947): 415-20. Survey. Effect.

42) A questionnaire answered by 100 white girls who had read at least two books about blacks revealed that these girls tended to be more favorably disposed to blacks than their peers. It was not clear whether the differences were due to reading or other factors.

Mason, William M. "The impact of endorsements on voting." SOCIOLOGICAL METHODS AND RESEARCH 1(1973): 463-95. Bibliography. Analysis. Effect.

43) Mason found that, almost everywhere, newspaper endorsements were helpful in electing the recommended candidate. Size of circulation had little effect on the magnitude of influence.

Noelle-Neumann, Elisabeth. "Return to the concept of the powerful mass media." STUDIES IN BROADCASTING 9(1973): 67-112. Bibliography. Analysis. Effect(lasting).

44) This article concludes that the thesis that mass media do not change attitudes but only reinforce them cannot be upheld. She agrees there exists a tendency to protect attitudes through selective perception, but this is being restricted by the consonance of reporting and editorial comment and reinforced by cumulative repetition in the media.

Peregrine, Donald. "The effect of printed social stimulus material upon the attitudes of high school pupils toward the Negro." BULLETIN OF PURDUE UNIVERSITY STUDIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION 31(1936): 70-104. Bibliography.

45) Experiment. Effect(lasting).

The author examines the effect of reading on racism. A significant change was noted and after two months the effect was still lasting (decreasing only a third in one case).

Prisuta, Robert H. "Mass media exposure and political behavior." EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTING REVIEW 7(1973): 167-73. Bibliography. Survey. Effect.

46) In particular, Prisuta hoped to determine which of the media most strongly influenced voting. Of those surveyed, 75% were exposed to TV, half to newspapers, 3 out of 10 to radio, and 2 out of 10 to magazines. As far as effectiveness goes, media were ranked in the order newspapers, magazines, TV, radio. Combining the two measures, newspapers proved to be strongest in effecting political behavior.

Rarick, G. R. "Political persuasion: the newspapers and the sexes." JOURNALISM QUARTERLY 47(1970): 360-4. Notes.

47) Analysis. Effect.

A brief article surveying research from various studies which indicate that women tend to be interested in issues closer to home than men. Men are more likely to be influenced by a newspaper in a local election. Both are less effected by the matters they read about most.

Remmers, H. H. and Morgan, C. L. "Changing attitudes toward a racial group." BULLETIN OF PURDUE UNIVERSITY STUDIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION 31(1936): 109-16. Bibliography. Experiment. Effect.

48) This study dealt with attitudes toward different groups of people. After college students read a story their attitudes shifted only in favor of one group. Poor story selection may have been the reason for the results.

Remmers, H. H. "An experiment on the retention of attitudes as changed by instructional materials." BULLETIN OF PURDUE UNIVERSITY STUDIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION 34(1938): 20-2. Bibliography. Experiment. Effect(lasting).

49) Remmers studied attitude retention in subjects from an experiment conducted by McConnell (q.v.) one year previously. Attitudes were still found to be shifted in the intended direction, but in every case there was a regression to the original.

Remmers, H. H. "Propaganda in the schools--do the effects last?" PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY 2(1938): 197-210. Notes. Experiment. Effect(lasting).

The author measured the attitudes of high school students on various subjects. He concluded that significantly measurable changes in attitudes can be produced in students with as little as fifteen minutes of instructional activity. He also claimed that, once changed, attitudes tend to persist as changed or are no more quickly forgotten than conventional subject matter.

50)

Riley, Sam G. "Pretrial publicity: a field study." JOURNALISM QUARTERLY 50(1973): 17-23. Notes. Survey. No effect.

Riley theorized that 1) press coverage of crimes and pretrial proceedings is biased against a defendant, 2) prospective jurors accept these biases, and 3) regardless of evidence these biases lead to conviction of the defendant. Results were inconclusive.

51)

Robinson, John P. "Perceived media bias and the 1968 vote: can the media affect behavior after all?" JOURNALISM QUARTERLY 49(1972): 239-46. Notes. Survey. Effect.

52) The study was done a few weeks prior to and after the 1968 presidential election. More people claimed that print media was biased than non-print. Newspapers

tended to be pro-Republican along with magazines. Though TV was the most important and unbiased source, more people voted for the candidate endorsed by a newspaper. Those with less strong party identity tended to be more influenced by newspapers than did strong party members.

Robinson, John P. "The press as king-maker: what surveys from last five campaigns show." JOURNALISM QUARTERLY 51(1974): 587-94, 606. Notes. Analysis. Effect.

53) This author sees a clear connection between newspaper endorsements and voting behavior. He says as a result of his study and other current studies that more creedence is being given to the power of the press.

Robinson, John P. "Public opinion during the Watergate crisis." COMMUNICATION RESEARCH 1(1974): 391-405. Bibliography. Survey. Effect(lasting).

54) The researcher proposes that mass political beliefs and attitudes are shaped slowly as a result of exposure to single stories or messages in the mass media, and would shift in line with long-range themes or "meta-messages" resulting from repeated coverage (p. 391). This idea was confirmed by the data collected and seems to have been borne out by the history of Watergate.

Schneyer, J. Wesley. "Effects of reading on children's attitudes." READING TEACHER 23(1969): 49-51, 57. Bibliography. Analysis. Effect.

55) Six major studies are discussed and summarized. Schneyer concludes that while many may be convinced that reading can change attitudes "the scientific evidence to support these notions is as yet scant" (p. 51). He says that the use of discussion after reading "to help pupils clarify misconceptions and share relevant experiences and feelings seem to be a critical factor" (p. 51).

Shirley, Fehl L. "The influence of reading on concepts, attitudes, and behavior." JOURNAL OF READING 12(1969): 369-72. Bibliography. Survey. Effect(lasting).

56) Shirley studied high school students, collecting their opinions as to how reading different material affected their attitudes, ideas, or behavior. 45% gained insight into concepts, 40% changed attitudes, 15% changed behavior, and only 4% reported no influence at all. Little difference in effect was shown between fiction and nonfiction. The study appeared to show that reading can influence development of character and values and that to some extent reading can even have negative effects.

Smith, Nila B. "The personal and social values of reading." ELEMENTARY ENGLISH 25(1948): 490-500. Bibliography. Survey. Effect.

57) Of the school children questioned, over 60% said reading had changed their attitudes, 30% revised or clarified their thinking, 9% indicated their behavior changed. Successful use of bibliotherapy is mentioned.

Standley, Fred L. and Standley, Nancy V. "An experimental use of black literature in a predominantly white university." RESEARCH IN TEACHING ENGLISH 4(1970): 139-48. Notes. Experiment. Effect.

58) Exposure of an experimental group to black writers, along with the resulting class discussion, brought about more "open" attitudes and fewer "closed" attitudes toward blacks. The researchers state that "with the impact of behavioral modification techniques research is indicating that individuals can and do change overt behavior, including basic attitudes without necessarily changing underlying psychodynamic structure" (p. 147).

Stotland, Ezra and Patchen, Martin. "Identification and changes in prejudice and in authoritarianism." JOURNAL OF ABNORMAL PSYCHOLOGY 62(1961): 265-74. Bibliography. Experiment. No effect.

59) A group was tested to determine racial bias. Then, after reading a series of booklets relating racial prejudice to emotional difficulties, their racial attitudes were retested. No significant change in attitudes resulted. However, results indicated "that persons of little prejudice tend to become more prejudiced when they find they have objective characteristics in common with a bigoted model" (p. 271).

Tatara, Walter T. "Effect of novels on ideas about the scientist." JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH 58(1964): 3-9. Bibliography. Experiment. Effect.

60) Tatara studied high school students who were divided into four groups, two control, and two experimental, which read novels favorably portraying scientists. Results tended to show that students changed their ideas about scientists in a more positive direction. Further analysis indicated that students who had more positive ideas in the pretest had less positive ideas in the posttest. Girls showed more change overall than boys.

Thayer, Lee O. and Pronko, N. H. "Some psychological factors in the reading of fiction." JOURNAL OF GENETIC PSYCHOLOGY 93(1958): 113-7. Bibliography. Experiment. Effect.

61) College students asked to respond to several questions showed a marked concurrence as to liking, disliking, and describing characters. Deviation from the norm was usually due to misunderstanding of the structure or

some type of functional factor (moods, needs, etc.). If similar in background, the more the readers concurred.

Tichenor, Phillip J. and Wackman, Daniel B. "Mass media and community public opinion." AMERICAN BEHAVIORAL SCIENTIST 16(1973): 593-606. Bibliography. Survey. Effect.

62) The authors investigate whether public consensus on particular community issues is related to the public's exposure to various media. The survey showed that local readers, especially high daily users, tend to be supportive of local officials. It also revealed that knowledge of local issues increases with exposure to media.

Webster, Jane. "Using books to reduce the fears of first-grade children." READING TEACHER 14(1961): 159-62. Bibliography. Experiment. Effect(lasting).

63) Webster reports that stories are surprisingly effective in helping to reduce the fears of children. When combined with discussion it is most powerful. The subjects studied, even after three months, had reduced their fears.

Witty, Paul. "Promoting growth and development through reading." ELEMENTARY ENGLISH 27(1950): 493-500. Notes. Analysis. Effect.

64) Witty surveyed the basic American belief that reading does have effects. He concluded from various studies that response to reading is largely a factor of the background, experience, prejudices, etc. of the reader.

Yawkey, Thomas D. "Attitudes toward black Americans held by rural and urban white early childhood subjects based upon multiethnic social studies materials." JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION 42(1973): 164-9. Notes. Experiment. Effect.

65) The author found that reading multiethnic texts can influence children's attitudes. Rural children were effected much more than urban ones, perhaps because "simple attitudes (are) more susceptible to change than highly complex and multifaceted ones" (p. 168).

Young, Eleanor C. "The effect of intensive reading on attitude change." FRENCH REVIEW 36(1963): 629-32. Notes. Experiment. Effect.

66) Young tested the accepted theory that by reading the literature of a country students change their attitudes about the country. In her study only about 14% of the possible changes noted were significant. She concludes that although we can change attitudes with reading, we need to learn how to control the direction and degree of that change.

TABLE 1

Results of Studies Broken Down by Decade

Effect/Date	Pre-40's	1940's	1950's	1960's	1970's	Totals
No Effect	1	0	0	1	1	3
Effect (Not Significant)	1	1	2	1	1	6
Effect (Significant)	9	6	8	17	17	57
Totals	11	7	10	19	19	66
Effect (Lasting)	5	1	2	4	3	15
Effect (Not Lasting)	0	1	0	0	0	1
Subtotals (of studies testing for long-term effect)	5	2	2	4	3	16

TABLE 2

Results of Individual Studies

0=Not Significant 1=Significant -=Not Lasting +=Lasting

No.	Effect/No Effect	Date	No.	Effect/No Effect	Date
1	1	1943	34	1	1969
2	1+	1973	35	0	1926
3	1+	1953	36	1	1973
4	0	1955	37	1	1972
5	1	1936	38	1	1967
6	0	1945	39	1	1936
7	1	1974	40	1	1965
8	1	1965	41	1	1974
9	1	1968	42	1	1947
10	0	1965	43	1	1973
11	1+	1933	44	1+	1973
12	1	1950	45	1+	1936
13	1	1974	46	1	1973
14	0	1951	47	1	1970
15	1	1958	48	0	1936
16	1	1942	49	1+	1938
17	1+	1967	50	1+	1938
18	1	1968	51	0	1973
19	1+	1948	52	1	1972
20	1	1965	53	1	1974
21	0	1971	54	1+	1974
22	1+	1938	55	1	1969
23	1+	1969	56	1+	1969
24	1+	1952	57	1	1948
25	1	1968	58	1	1970
26	1	1969	59	0	1961
27	1-	1944	60	1	1964
28	1	1962	61	1	1958
29	1	1973	62	1	1973
30	1	1959	63	1+	1961
31	1	1957	64	1	1950
32	1	1936	65	1	1973
33	1	1936	66	1	1963

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APPENDIX

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